**Mercantilist Materialities: people, things, colonialism and globalization in seventeenth century Scandinavia and India**

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*Introduction*

On the 19th of December 1660 the Danish admiral Ove Gjedde[[1]](#endnote-1) passed away. Three months before he had been released from Swedish custody and probably died of injuries or sickness obtained during imprisonment. He was 66 years of age when he died and thus could look back on a long and rather eventful life. Ove Gjedde was one of those adventurous entrepreneurial people of the early modern era who essentially encapsulated the spirit of the period. He was, so to speak, living the zeitgeist of the baroque – he lived a life of colonialism, globalization, mercantilism and nascent capitalism as well as modernity.[[2]](#endnote-2)

Through his life Ove Gjedde engaged in the rich trade with Asia, invested in his palace and founded a substantial garden, worked in the production of precious metals and participated in naval warfare. Gjedde outlined and commanded a colony and he was a major part in the foundation of the mining society of Kongsberg with production, town planning and workforce migration – the Norwegian silver mines had to rely heavily on indentured mining workers from Germany. Gjedde was part of the height, might and fall of Christian IV’s Danish Empire[[3]](#endnote-3) and he witnessed the birth of the global world, of north European colonialism and of mercantilism.[[4]](#endnote-4) Gjedde and his family were even immortalized with sarcastic criticism, as one of the leading aristocrats in Denmark/Norway of the reign of Christian IV by the famous playwright and historian Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754).[[5]](#endnote-5)

All these aspects of aristocratic life – the long-distance trade, the production of precious metals, the moving of workers in the context of global migration of people, the elaborate investment in estates, the conspicuous consumption – were characteristic of the mercantilist world view. The mercantilist life of Ove Gjedde was a physical life leaving material traces. Gjedde was an agent among several others moving in and out of global and regional networks coveting things – actants – that made them move and moved themselves. This entangled materiality – the buildings, the shards of the drinking vessels, the ships and the landscape of production and dominance – is the empirical base of this article, studied in order to obtain a more overall perspective on the birth of a global world from a Scandinavian vantage point.

*Material aspects of networks of mercantilism*

Although mercantilism was an ideology, a dogma and a theory, it was also praxis, things that people did and places where people did them, resulting in objects: material culture and production of space.[[6]](#endnote-6) It was also a network or cluster of networks where agents tried to control material things such as ships and buildings, and coveted goods such as spices, silk and porcelain. Things also controlled people. The coveted things had people acting, such as pursuing trade, collecting, colonizing other territories and constructing theories of economics. The material things can be studies as actants, subject-like agents.[[7]](#endnote-7) The ships that took the Danish expedition on their first trip to India, the palaces and buildings at home or abroad, the silver mines and the factories, the porcelain cups and rolls of silk, governed people’s actions and thoughts in early modern society. These actants (ships, forts, mines, ceramics and so on) acted together with people in different sets of spontaneous networks, such as the social networks around the foundation of the Dansborg fort or the Kongsberg silver mines. To varying extents all these networks were related to each other through agents such as Ove Gjedde or actants such as the silver.

The purpose with this paper is to uncover the relational ties between material culture, people and localities of the early modern world – how places and things in present-day Denmark, Norway and Sweden were related to the Coromandel Coast, present-day south-east India. The study seeks to answer three questions. Firstly: In what way did an abstract ideology such as mercantilism and large-scale change such as globalization influence a person’s life and the localities related to that person in the course of nascent modernity. Secondly: What kind of networks and localities did this change create? Thirdly: What role did material culture and space have in these processes? These questions will be answered by emphasizing both individual agency and structural changes through the life course of Ove Gjedde, 1594–1660, and by studying the various localities inhabited, constructed and owned by Gjedde, as nodes in the networks where he acted. The networks included people such as Gjedde’s crew on his voyage to India, his second in command, Roland Crappé, construction workers in Tarangambadi (Danish: Tranquebar), his wife Dorte Urne, his brother-in-law Preben von Ahnen, the King, Christian IV, migrant indentured workers in Kongsberg, and many others. With an allusion to Bruno Latour’s discussion about the railroad, these networks can be regarded as neither local nor global but both at the same time, connecting localities of the global world and small things such as a water dam, a ceramic shard or a garden to the global networks of trade, ideas and cultural influence.[[8]](#endnote-8)

Lars Magnusson has argued that the most significant component of early mercantilist thinking was the idea of the existence of *a system*, such as the marketplace, made up of interacting mechanical forces.[[9]](#endnote-9) This idea, spreading around Europe in the seventeenth century, had its empirical foundation in the recognition of the importance of the trade balance, as emphasized by the mercantilist thinkers from Thomas Mun and Gerrard Laynes in England in the 1620s to Johan Risingh in Sweden in the 1650s and 1660s, and in the early eighteenth century Otto Thott in Denmark. The idea of the system probably came from the globalization itself and the spread of European colonialism all over the world. Colonialists, consumers and travellers recognized certain traits common to the system: Wealth could be obtained outside Europe and imported to the mother countries. The trade company was a strong economic form of organization and introduced early in Denmark.[[10]](#endnote-10) Silver and other precious metals were accessible in America and coveted in China – the world’s largest market with a population of around one fifth of the world’s inhabitants.[[11]](#endnote-11) In the middle of all this, between theory and praxis, in the spaces between home and abroad and between the domestic red earthenware and the Chinese porcelain, Ove Gjedde lived and acted, leaving shipwrecks, manors, a fort and an industrial landscape for us to study. These material aspects of past lives, Ove Gjedde’s and the actants’ lives have not been studied together, as part of a global whole before, nor have they been discussed in an international theoretical context.

*Mercantilist biography*

Ove Gjedde was born in 1594 at his family’s manor of Tommarp, Kvidinge Parish, south-east of Helsingborg in present-day Sweden. Ove Gjedde’s older brothers died young, and even though he was the fourth in line to inherit, he ended up the head of the family.[[12]](#endnote-12) Gjedde was given a proper education suitable for a young aristocrat. He went to the Sorø School in 1610, and with the exception of some short intermissions due to the death of his father, he gained his degree and continued to study fortification and law in Amsterdam.[[13]](#endnote-13)

The life of Ove Gjedde is known from contemporary printed and unprinted sources. Regarding his journey to Ceylon and India, it is known through three reports of his own hand.[[14]](#endnote-14) Moreover, three printed books were commissioned by Ove Gjedde and his spouse Dorte Urne – their love and marriage being one of the topics.[[15]](#endnote-15) A report on the journey is another,[[16]](#endnote-16) and thirdly and most comprehensive is Michael Henrichsøn Tistorf’s funeral sermon for Ove Gjedde from 1660, printed in 1661.[[17]](#endnote-17) These books were written with the purpose of glorifying the acts and life of Ove Gjedde, and some events were deemed more important than others. Gjedde’s part in the mining business, for example, although important for many years, is not mentioned at all in the otherwise very detailed funeral sermon. This is probably an effect of early modern aristocratic scepticism about trade and industry – a scepticism that Gjedde did not embrace in practice, as his life testifies.[[18]](#endnote-18)

The founding of the Tranquebar Colony, Denmark’s first tropical overseas colony, in 1620 and in Danish hands until 1845 is generally regarded as Gjedde’s major achievement. The background to the foundation of the Tranquebar colony is surprising and rather comical. In 1616 the Danish East India Company (DEIC) was founded, as the third in Europe after the English counterpart in 1600 and the Dutch VOC in 1602. In the following year (1617) a Dutch adventurer, Marchelis de Boshouwer, in the service of the king of Kandy, Ceylon, present day Sri Lanka, persuaded Christian IV to form an alliance with his master. Denmark would support Kandy with ships and troops against the Portuguese in exchange for trade privileges.[[19]](#endnote-19) The DEIC and the Danish king would share the financial load in exchange for an expected surplus. On 29 November 1618 the expedition left with five ships, Gjedde was appointed commander of the main ship, *The Elephant*,[[20]](#endnote-20) for a journey that would take three and a half years.

The arrival in Ceylon must have been an anti-climax: the king of Kandy had been at peace with Portugal for three years and the DEIC was not exactly welcome. In June 1620 Crappé informed Gjedde of successful parallel negotiations with the Prince of Tandschor on the Coromandel Coast, resulting in a village on the Coromandel Coast for the Danes.[[21]](#endnote-21) The prince, or najk, wanted to weaken the position of the Portuguese and welcomed other foreign agents.[[22]](#endnote-22)

The plans for an alliance with Kandy and wars with Portugal eventually were transformed into the foundation of a fort on the Indian mainland and the colonial power (i.e. Denmark) had to navigate in a position as middleman or even subordinate. The diplomatic process meant a lot of passive aggressive conflicts between Ove Gjedde and his Indian counterparts, whom he described as savages and heathens, although he was impressed by their wealth, power and garden architecture.[[23]](#endnote-23) Indians, on the other hand, did not esteem Gjedde, who refused to bring diplomatic gifts and acknowledge ceremonial negotiations.[[24]](#endnote-24)

The Prince of Tandschor, although not unfriendly, did not express any high regard for the Danes: on only one occasion, when studying a Danish silver coin, was he impressed. The Danish coin was regarded as well-made and of very high quality[[25]](#endnote-25) – an attractive object for future exchange. Esther Fihl has acknowledged the modern traits of Gjedde’s negotiations, his need for results and his lack of patience.[[26]](#endnote-26) Gjedde seemed to be driven by a desire for practical results and mercantile benefits – a modern sense of “time is money” in contrast to a local representative exchange or tributary economic system. Modernity in its western European sense can be regarded as developed or even born in the meeting with other economic realities, such as the one in southern India.[[27]](#endnote-27)

After several months of negotiations, in December 1620 the Danes took over control of the village of Taramgambadi, *Tranquebar.*[[28]](#endnote-28) Around the turn of the year 1620–21 the erection of the fort started and part of the old fishing village was evicted.[[29]](#endnote-29) In spring the same year the fort was finished, including a moat, bastions, walls and gates. One of the few proper accounts mentioning the building phase is Ove Gjedde’s commission of a limestone gate to be finished in February 1620.[[30]](#endnote-30) In 2008 a joint Danish-Indian excavation unearthed the former main gate of Dansborg, recovering debris from the seventeenth-century garrison and among other things parts of the old gate that was torn down in the late eighteenth century.[[31]](#endnote-31) Pieces of limestone sculptures were found that could be identified as parts of mermaids and waves – typical Renaissance and baroque motifs – symbolizing the mythical riches, the awaiting prosperity and the danger of the oceans. A drawing of the pre-1780s gate exists and the pieces found could be fitted into that.[[32]](#endnote-32) The drawing shows a classical European vaulted main gate with steep angled vaults on the sides, thus picking up both European and Indian ideals. The central part of the gate is probably the one commissioned and drawn by Gjedde. In his reports for 24 December, Gjedde mentions commissioning a vaulted gate from local stone masons.[[33]](#endnote-33) The small pieces of a volute and a mermaid’s tail were thus made in the winter of 1621 by Indian or Luso-Indian masons. The gate, although a stark statement of European classical ideas, connoting the early modern ideological understanding of New Rome,[[34]](#endnote-34) was at the same time a hybrid, a material meeting place between Western Europe, Scandinavia and India.

The need for cash (silver coins) and food, transportation and settlements functioned as non-human agents which through time and in various ways developed within the context of the networks. The canons changed meanings from a martial necessity to a trade object ending up in Indian hands. A military pact was transformed into a fort – keeping Denmark in India for another 224 years. Porcelain and spices and later on perhaps opium[[35]](#endnote-35) kept the Danish economy on a steadily augmenting course of globalization. The ships themselves were perhaps the prime actants of the whole early Danish-Tranquebar network.[[36]](#endnote-36) The ships had people acting – bringing them across half the world, giving people seasickness and scurvy as well as riches and experiences. A Dutch trade ship named *Melkepigen* (The Milk Maid), built in the early seventeenth century and sold to Sweden, captured by Denmark in the Kalmar War of 1611–13, was eventually clad with copper sheets and renamed *The Elephant*, leaving the Baltic and a regional context to enter a global network of VOC traders, Portuguese colonists and translocal pirates. *Melkepigen*, when transformed, changed its passengers from local traders and soldiers to explorers and cosmopolitan brokers in trade, such as Roland Crappé and others. Attacked by storms and shipworms, the ships did not survive long after the return to Denmark. In February 1624 King Christian IV notes in his diary that two of the ships that took part in the first journey to East India were deliberately sunk in Copenhagen harbour.[[37]](#endnote-37)

In 1996 and 1997 several extraordinarily well-preserved ships were excavated in Copenhagen.[[38]](#endnote-38) One of them, a Dutch-built East Indiaman, made of oak from western Germany with a copper-plated stern and rudder, has been interpreted as *The Elephant*. On board the ship shells of a coconut were found as a physical token of the Indian Ocean.[[39]](#endnote-39) The single ship, probably *Melkepigen* – *The Elephant*, thus comprises a lifespan including western Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, the South Atlantic, Indian Ocean, and the Gulf of Bengal, and finally ending up as a foundation of the urban expansion of early modern Copenhagen. When the ship was sunk Ove Gjedde had however moved on, but this time to Norway.

*The Danish Cerro Rico – Kongsberg in Norway*

Silver was a pivotal means of commerce, as already shown by the Danish trade in the Gulf of Bengal. In viewing the silver as an actant – a subject-like actor that formed markets, people and trade networks – it is easier to understand the early modern trade in silver and travel for silver through this perspective. In the seventeenth century aristocrats and royals dressed in silver, slept in silver and acted through silver.[[40]](#endnote-40) The silver finds in America made Spain a tremendous fortune, accelerated globalization by connecting America and Asia, and created envy among the other colonial powers-to-be.[[41]](#endnote-41) Thus silver had people, social groups and organizations act, and the metal was included in the perception of divine providence and individual success.

On 16 March 1624, the whole of Denmark/Norway celebrated a mass of thanksgiving dedicated to the finding of silver in Norway.[[42]](#endnote-42) Later that spring King Christian IV visited the silver mines in southern Norway and as a sign of its importance several of the sites were dignified with monuments and rock-carvings commemorating the King’s visit.[[43]](#endnote-43) Already in 1631 the Berghauptmann Nortmann wrote a history of the mountain and the silver production.[[44]](#endnote-44) The find was thus deemed to be of the utmost importance – it had people act and move – a vast majority of the people in leading positions as well as the skilled workers had come from other regions – Denmark, southern Germany and Bohemia – from 1623 onwards.[[45]](#endnote-45)

Kongsberg silver mines and works was run by the Crown between autumn 1623 and spring 1627 when it was turned into the hands of a newly founded company – the organizational form of the day. The first overseer of the mines and the town was the former vice president of DEIC, Adolph Frederik Grabou.[[46]](#endnote-46) The assets were divided into 32 shares, of which the King had four, the governor of Norway, Jens Juel eight, and Ove Gjedde eight. The list of participants (shareholders) consists solely of Danish aristocrats, civil servants and traders – foreign capital was kept out.[[47]](#endnote-47) In the new company Gjedde was appointed Berghauptmann. The pressure on the Numedal peasants was also augmented. Gjedde’s brother-in-law, Christopher Urne, was appointed governor of Norway in 1629, a development that, at least indirectly, strengthened Gjedde’s position in the country. In 1631 Gjedde was appointed director, which meant that the industry more or less was under his total control.[[48]](#endnote-48) Gjedde was also appointed colonel of the Akershus regiment, further strengthening his position in Norway.[[49]](#endnote-49) From 1635 Gjedde owned shares in the Fossum ironworks, and from 1642 he took control over the industry together with his son-in-law Preben von Ahnen. This found material manifestation in the production of iron stoves, where Gjedde has his portrait along with his wife’s reproduced on the sides.

The cast iron stove and the tiled stove were material culture of rapidly growing importance in the time of the Little Ice Age.[[50]](#endnote-50) Heating and the indoor climate were of growing concern for the people of the northern hemisphere. The cast iron stoves with Gjedde’s portrait were also a materialization of Gjedde’s habitus, where his self-esteem could be present in people’s homes far away from Tislegård in Kongsberg, Tommarp or his manor in Copenhagen.

In just a couple of years in the late 1620s and early 1630s, the number of mines increased from seven to 22 and a great deal of prospecting was taking place in the mountains. In 1624 there were four mines at work, and many of the dams, canals, water wheels, roads and farms that still can be seen in and around Kongsberg were created during this dynamic period. The town of Kongsberg was also founded, with a royal manor, a church, a parsonage, a school, an administrative headquarters and a market place for trade within the mining community. In 1646 the town consisted of 245 dwellings or major buildings, of which around one third were owned by the company.[[51]](#endnote-51) Some of the less successful mines were shut in the late 1620s and 1630s, but the 1630s still witnessed a substantial expansion. Ironically, lack of cash meant recurrent problems for the industry. Parallel to the expansion of mines, furnaces, stamp mills, and so on, the landscape around Kongsberg changed rapidly. Dams and canals, engineered with perfection, were constructed high up in the mountains to provide the industry with power.[[52]](#endnote-52) Along with this rapid spatial expansion – a multipurpose landscape used for thousands of years was turned overnight into a mono-cultural industrial space – farming expanded on the outskirts of the mining area. Stephen Mrozowski has discussed the process of commodification of nature and space in early modern colonialism and how the English at the Jamestown colony surveyed the region for resources that could be turned into commodities.[[53]](#endnote-53) The contemporary development in Kongsberg and several other mining areas in northern Europe, with its swift change of landscape and production of new spaces, is related to the metabolic rift of capitalist society.[[54]](#endnote-54) A space with diverse uses was turned into a commodity exploited by groups as well as individuals.

In the 1620s Gjedde had already erected a manor for himself in the centre of the Kongsberg mining town. From the 1640s Gjedde kept on expanding his influence and expanded his number of estates but now in Scania and Zealand. He was appointed admiral of the realm in 1645 and member of the council of the realm the same year.[[55]](#endnote-55) In 1661 Gjedde’s family was second only to the King as the largest stockholder at Kongsberg silver mines and works.[[56]](#endnote-56)

*A mercantilist biography*

The life of Ove Gjedde and the development of mercantilism in Scandinavia were driven by conflicts over markets, shares, ores, land and prestige. Mercantilist ideas had recognized limitations of resources and limitations of precious goods. No wonder this period saw the birth of modern piracy. Conflict was the root of Gjedde’s journey and of his position in society. Wars with Sweden were a recurrent horrifying event. In 1659, during the second Danish war of Charles X of Sweden, when Ove Gjedde had retired from the mining business, his son-in-law Preben von Ahnen marched over the Scandia mountains from Trondheim and destroyed the silver mines of Nasafjäll and silver works of Silbojokk in Swedish Sápmi.[[57]](#endnote-57) This was an act of economic warfare intended to disturb Sweden’s finances. Striking at the production of silver seems like an appropriate mercantilist activity. Silver as an actant kept on governing the life and actions of Gjedde from his maiden voyage to India all through his life.

In parallel to the investments in Kongsberg and other estates, Gjedde and his wife Dorte Urne invested heavily in the Scania estate, Tommarp, transforming it into a blooming renaissance castle with towers, orchards and canals. Above the main entrance in Tommarp the proprietors had a stone tablet with their coats of arms put up. The pike of Ove Gjedde and the eagles’ foot of Dorte Urne are framed by two mermaids, very similar, not to say almost identical to the two designed by Gjedde for the Dansborg gate. The mythical sea of riches followed Gjedde and his family from Denmark, to India and back again via Norway and the world.

1. In the following text the spelling Gjedde is used. This is the most common and used in modern scholarly literature (e.g. Fihl 2009). Other forms of the name, such as Gedde and Giedde, are known (Dayem 2006, 17). [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
2. Cf. Orser 1996, 57–8. [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
3. Jónsson 2009. [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
4. Cf. Bregnsbo & Villads Jensen 2005, 118–41. [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
5. Holberg 1732–5. [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
6. Cf. for example Björnsson & Magnusson 2011, 111–200; Murdoch 1998. [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
7. Latour 2005, 70–86; also Murdoch 1998, 360. [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
8. Latour 1993, 117. [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
9. Magnusson 1994, 214. [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
10. Feldbæk 1986. [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
11. Flynn & Giráldez 1995; see also Brook 2008. [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
12. DBL *Gjedde*. [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
13. Dayem 2006. [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
14. “Fortegnelse paa alt, hvis denne Indianske Reise forefalden er, fra Begyndelsen den 14. November Anno 1618 og indtil den 4 Martii Ao. 1622”, The Danish State Archives; “Fortgnelse paa alt hvis paa Ceylon med Keiseren saa og paa Coronabdel med Naichen af Tanjour forefalden er fra 18 May 1620 til 1 jun. 1621”, The Danish State Archives; “Fortegnelse paa alt hvis mellem Naichen af Tanjour og os forefalden er, sa avel som alt hvis den Coromandelske Kiøbmandskap anlanger”, The Danish State Archives. Printed in Schlegel 1772. [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
15. See Gettorp 1623. [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
16. *Relation oc wisz Berettning fra de Danske Skibe: Elpehanten, Davis, Christian, Kiøbenhaffn oc Jagten Øresund*. [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
17. Tistorph 1661. [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
18. Cf. Englund 1989, 49–69 [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
19. Olsen [1952–53] 1967, 35–41. [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
20. Dayem 2006, 27–29. [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
21. Tistorph 1661, 76. [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
22. Esther Fihl, 1988, 65, has also suggested the role of struggle for power between the Moguls of northern and central India and the smaller states of the south in this context. [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
23. Regarding gardens see Tistorph 1661, 81. [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
24. Fihl 2009. [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
25. Jensen 2010, 149. [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
26. Fihl 2009, 29–32. [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
27. Fihl 2009, 28, 30–32. [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
28. Tistorph 1661, 76. [↑](#endnote-ref-28)
29. Tistorph 1661, 82. [↑](#endnote-ref-29)
30. Schlegel 1772, 126; Oláfsson 1931, 25. [↑](#endnote-ref-30)
31. Engberg unpublished; Engberg & Subramanian unpublished. [↑](#endnote-ref-31)
32. Engberg unpublished, 10. [↑](#endnote-ref-32)
33. Schlegel 1772, 126. [↑](#endnote-ref-33)
34. Cf. Evans 1990, 655–57; Gosden 2004, 25–30. [↑](#endnote-ref-34)
35. In the excavations of the northern moat just outside Dansborg an opium pipe head was found, Engberg & Subramanian unpublished 12. Cf. unpublished conference paper by Neil Price 2012. [↑](#endnote-ref-35)
36. Cf. Jensen 2010, 147–49. [↑](#endnote-ref-36)
37. Lemée 2006, 230. [↑](#endnote-ref-37)
38. Lemée 2006, 15–6. [↑](#endnote-ref-38)
39. Lemée 2006, 229. [↑](#endnote-ref-39)
40. Nordin 2012. [↑](#endnote-ref-40)
41. Flynn & Giráldez 1995; see also Brading & Cross 1972. [↑](#endnote-ref-41)
42. Moen 1967, 23. [↑](#endnote-ref-42)
43. Moen 1967, 26. [↑](#endnote-ref-43)
44. Moen 1967, 37. [↑](#endnote-ref-44)
45. Moen 1967, 33. [↑](#endnote-ref-45)
46. Bergwitz 1924, 11. [↑](#endnote-ref-46)
47. Moen 1967, 34. [↑](#endnote-ref-47)
48. Moen 1967, 37. [↑](#endnote-ref-48)
49. NBL *Gjedde.* [↑](#endnote-ref-49)
50. Eriksdotter 2013. [↑](#endnote-ref-50)
51. Moen 1967. 101–2. [↑](#endnote-ref-51)
52. Cf. Berg 1991; Berg 1994; also Berg *et al*. 1997. [↑](#endnote-ref-52)
53. Mrozowski 1999. [↑](#endnote-ref-53)
54. Foster 1999; see also Nordin forthcoming. [↑](#endnote-ref-54)
55. NBL *Gjedde.* [↑](#endnote-ref-55)
56. Moen 1967, 47. [↑](#endnote-ref-56)
57. Bromé 1923, 232–68 [↑](#endnote-ref-57)